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THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY
IN THE UNITED STATES

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V. Yershov, a reader from Moscow, asked to be informed of the role of American intelligence organizations in implementing the aggressive policy of US imperialism. The answer to this question is published below.

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A characteristic feature of the foreign policy practice of US imperialism lies in the constant increase in the share of the intelligence apparatus and in the general tendency by government agencies to expand the use of espionage methods and subversive activities for the solution of foreign policy tasks.

The aggressive nature of the aspirations of the ruling circles leads to a strengthening of the role of intelligence services in the government, and this creates conditions under which intelligence ceases to be an instrument in the hands of the government alone and begins to exert increasing influence on the general direction and formulation of the country's foreign policy.

The aggressive policy of American imperialism has led to the formation of a vast system of intelligence machinery which encompasses all of the most important government agencies and which in the United States is known as the "intelligence community." The "intelligence community" includes the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Department of Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the intelligence services of the army, navy and air force, the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Information Office of the Atomic Energy Commission.

CPYRGHT The US Information Agency (USIA) and the Agency for International Development, which concerns itself with problems of "rendering assistance to foreign states," are also closely linked with intelligence. The Harvard scholar Ransom in his book, Central Intelligence and State Security, asserts that both of these agencies participate in the "intelligence community" and that "each of them has a large number of representatives and posts abroad and that each of them is a supplier and consumer of intelligence data." The "Peace Corps" is also widely used for intelligence activities. In 1966 it numbered approximately 15,000 persons. To a greater or lesser degree the Departments of Commerce, Treasury and others are involved in intelligence.

The primary intelligence agency in the US is the Central Intelligence Agency. However, now the Pentagon, competing with the CIA,

also has at its disposal a vast, constantly expanding espionage machinery that receives the lion's share of general allocations for intelligence. As the distinguished observer Stewart Alsop reported, one of the CIA employees complained to him: "Everyone believes that the CIA has more spare cash than it really does. Damn it all, now we can barely scrounge up a miserable quarter of a million dollars to carry out some operation, while in the Pentagon this amount is not even considered money!" According to information from the American press, the total sum of US expenditures for intelligence amounts to 4 billion dollars annually. Of this, approximately one billion goes to the CIA. The bulk of the remainder goes to the Department of Defence. To a certain degree this is explained by the fact that the expensive spy satellite system is under Pentagon control. The military intelligence machinery is so great that it devours vast funds. Moreover, the National Security Agency is under the Pentagon, and it employs more personnel than the CIA. This super secret spy center compiles codes, decodes intercepted messages from foreign governments and eavesdrops on radio telephone conversations.

The American press notes the intensification of competition among the intelligence services. Some observers have reached the conclusion that following the removal of such influential figures as Allen Dulles and McCone from CIA management Secretary of Defense MacNamara in particular was able to expand substantially the role of the Pentagon in the "intelligence community." The New York Herald Tribune even asserts that "the CIA is losing its influence, which is shifting to the intelligence arm of the Defense Department."

Contrary to statements of this type it must be considered that the CIA has retained the dominant position in the "intelligence community." In the first place, the CIA coordinates the activities of the entire US intelligence system; in the second place, it implements on a global scale the more important espionage and subversive operations; and in the third place, it is responsible for the generalization of all intelligence information on the basis of which an evaluation of the international situation is prepared and the US foreign policy course is determined. At the same time, although the CIA budget is significantly more modest than that of Pentagon intelligence, it is, nevertheless, twice as large as the entire budget for the Department of State.

The head of the CIA is chairman of the US Intelligence Council -- an agency in which all intelligence services are represented. This council works out plans for espionage and subversive activities and confirms intelligence reports presented to the government.

The efforts of the US "intelligence community" are directed primarily toward a struggle against the USSR and other socialist countries and against the international communist and national-liberation movements. In official US documents the creation of the CIA is usually explained by the fact that during World War II American intelligence was weak and, in particular, could not secure reliable information on Japanese plans and intentions. In 1955 the Hoover commission report on problems of government machinery stated that "the CIA owes its existence to the sudden attack on Pearl Harbor." In reality, however, the chief cause for the establishment of the CIA was the expansion of the aggressive

and anti-communist policy of US imperialism following World War II. Allen Dulles openly admits this in his book, The Art of Intelligence. He ties the formation of the CIA, in December of 1947, directly to the Truman Doctrine proclaimed in March of the same year.

From time to time reports that CIA activities are being limited and that its "wings are being clipped" appear in the American press. Reports of this type are circulated only to calm down the public in connection with one of the numerous routine, scandalous failures of the CIA, such as the collapse of the Bay of Pigs attack and the destruction of the "U-2" reconnaissance aircraft over Soviet territory. However, the matter has always been concluded with the fact that the Central Intelligence Agency is allocated more funds and its staff is expanded. As the former advisor to the President Arthur Schlesinger writes in his book, John Kennedy: A Thousand Days in the White House, the number of CIA personnel has doubled during the past 10 years. CIA activities have taken on such a broad scope that many in the United States consider its role in executing foreign policy more significant than that of the Department of State. Senator Gruening in a speech before the Senate declared that the post of CIA head "in many respects is second only to that of the President in its importance." The functions of the American "intelligence community" give certain politicians and journalists cause to consider it the US "invisible government."

Without belittling either the significance of these views or the influence of intelligence organizations on US policy, it is, nevertheless, necessary to keep in mind that in a number of cases it is

profitable for US ruling circles to exaggerate the role of the CIA in the execution of various aggressive acts in order to make it their scapegoat for policy failures. CIA heads, as a rule in such cases, are not apt to argue. As Allen Dulles stated, he was prepared to accept "even responsibility for evidence of irresponsibility."

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A complex and far-flung system for coordinating all activity in the field of foreign policy, including intelligence, exists in the United States. The highest political controlling and coordinating agency in Washington is the National Security Council, headed by the President, which is responsible for working out foreign policy strategy and for determining the participation of the "intelligence community" in its execution. Current intelligence activities, in particular in the sphere of the acquisition and processing of information, are managed by the United States Intelligence Board. Those acts of the intelligence services which touch upon important foreign policy questions are discussed in the special super secret government committee. According to reports which have filtered to the press, this committee was formed on 12 December 1954 and, therefore, has the code name of "54/12 Group." A Committee to Coordinate Operations and a Planning Office under the National Security Council existed alongside it for a number of years. They were eliminated in February, 1961, after the inauguration of President Kennedy, and their functions were transferred to the office of the President's Advisor on Security Affairs McGeorge Bundy and, in

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part, to the Department of State. Moreover, in the middle of 1961 a special group (at a department level) was established "to prepare a program for conducting psychological and political warfare." This staff for "psychological operations" has also been retained under the Johnson administration. In 1962 a "counterinsurgency group" was established, and its activities were directed against the international communist and national-liberation movements.

From time to time interdepartmental committees are established in connection with a rising crisis situation. Numerous commissions exist for the preparation of material and proposals as well as for the implementation of measures regarding individual problems. Thus, under the US Intelligence Board alone there were up to 50 various committees and groups and under the above mentioned committee on coordinating operations there were 36 commissions. At one time general coordination over their work was carried out by millionaire Nelson Rockefeller who held the post of Special Assistant to the President.

Various funds, directly financed by large monopolies, are drawn to developing problems of foreign policy. This entire mechanism of various committees, groups and so forth is under the control of monopolies directly or through the government. The American people know little of their work. Here, the words of V. I. Lenin that in the capitalist countries "real 'government' work is conducted behind the scenes and that it is executed by departments, offices and staffs" (Complete Collection of Works, Vol 33, p 46) find their full corroboration.

The CIA unquestionably occupies a special position among all

American agencies operating behind the scenes. Its activities, being a direct expression of the policy of "balancing on the brink of war," represent a constant threat to peace and international security. The New York Times writes that the ruling US circles have found in the CIA "that specific combination of capabilities which they were in need of" for the execution of illegal interference in the affairs of sovereign states in the name of forcing American interests and for the struggle against the national-liberation movements. The CIA is the chief organizer of secret war operations which are becoming characteristic of the activities of the entire government machinery of the United States in the implementation of the aggressive foreign policy course.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that in the capitalist society "the most important questions dealing with war and peace and diplomatic questions are solved by an insignificant number of capitalists who deceive not only the masses but often parliament as well" (Complete Collection of Works, Vol 40, p 285). The American Congress is known for its reactionary nature, and still the ruling circles refuse it the right even to maintain control over the CIA.

In addition to the President and the National Security Council, to which the CIA is responsible, the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board has the right to be informed of its operations. This board might be called a committee of the military and industrial complex on intelligence affairs. Of its nine members two are military -- General Taylor, the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Admiral Sides, the former Commander of the Pacific Fleet -- six are directors or former

directors of various banks or corporations and one, Harvard University history professor Langer in the past a CIA employee and later consultant, is a specialist on intelligence affairs.

Beginning in 1955 Congress attempted to form a special committee on CIA activities; however, the government opposed the adoption of such a proposal by every means. Senator Morse, one of the supporters of the establishment of such a committee, declared: "We are living in a period in which we probably will never be witnesses to the fact that Congress will declare war before it is begun. It seems to me much more plausible that war will begin first and subsequently Congress will declare war after the fact. This is why I am so greatly disturbed by the uncontrolled power in the hands of the CIA or of any other government agency."

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The United States has conducted a marauding war in Vietnam over an extended period of time. It was deliberately and systematically unleashed by the American government. The government in part used secret CIA intrigues for this purpose.

As early as during the Geneva Conference on Vietnam in 1954, it became apparent that the American imperialists were contemplating aggressive plans in regards to Vietnam. The American government, declaring hypocritically that it would respect the Geneva Agreements, acted covertly in order to undermine their implementation. The CIA was given the task of assuring US infiltration of South Vietnam.

US intelligence began with a typical method of US interventionist

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policy -- the creation of a puppet regime -- in order to have the opportunity to cover up further intervention by referring to "requests of the legitimate government." Intelligence has placed its stake on the reactionary and fanatic Catholic Ngo Dinh Diem. As The New York Times wrote sometime later, "It was specifically the CIA that helped convince the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations to attempt to overcome the Vietnamese storm with the help of Ngo Dinh Diem." The West German weekly Der Spiegel names the distinguished agent Col. Lansdale as the creator of the South Vietnamese puppet regime. In the spring of 1954, even prior to the conclusion of the Geneva Conference, the journal writes, "An order from Washington was received in the Saigon office of the CIA, headed by Col. Lansdale": Allen Dulles had given orders to find a head for the puppet government.

Having secured a cloak in the person of Ngo Dinh Diem, the USA, in violation of the Geneva Agreements, began to send to South Vietnam large numbers of its advisors and special forces units whose operations -- which is extremely significant -- were jointly directed by the CIA and the Pentagon.

The CIA did everything in order to support the Diem regime. It even used special chastis to crush the opposition Buddhist movement. This at one time brought forth a major scandal and brought about the resignation of the Saigon CIA office head, Richardson. He was replaced also to a certain degree because the American government, having become convinced of the complete impossibility of retaining Diem in power, decided to replace him with another puppet. The CIA created Diem and the CIA killed him.

The maintenance of the current regime of Ky is, as before, to a significant degree placed on the CIA. However, in view of the fact that the task has now become more complex, other members of the "intelligence community" have been drawn to this matter. As the Washington Post writes, at the present time in South Vietnam a joint group of "special purpose intelligence forces to carry out special tasks is operating. The personnel includes senior operational officers of all US intelligence arms."

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The recently held elections in South Vietnam were one of the operations proposed by the intelligence agencies. An important role in preparing these was played by Lansdale, who has appeared in Saigon in the rank of general since the autumn of 1965 and who, as an official special advisor to the US Ambassador, directs the formulation of "democratic reforms."

Intelligence agencies participate directly in the escalation of military actions and in the execution of a propaganda campaign for the purpose of justifying them. The statement by Senator Young following one of his trips to South Vietnam is evidence of the methods used by the CIA to this end. In Young's words he found out that "the CIA had dressed several individuals as Vietcong and that they had committed atrocities, killing several persons and raping several women." The CIA through the use of such dirty methods attempts to discredit Vietnamese patriots and to justify the atrocities of the US and puppet forces in Vietnam.

CIA activities in Vietnam bear a dangerous character. The

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spy center is an instrument in the hands of monopolies and of the militarists who strive for an expansion of the war. "Under conditions of disillusionment and uncertainty brought about by the war in Vietnam," writes The New York Times observer Reston, "ever greater pressure is being exerted on the President and his civil advisors, demanding an expansion of arms production, an acceleration of the entire mobilization process, the call up of reserves and a declaration of a state of emergency proceeding from the assumption that military actions will continue for an indeterminate period of time and that its scale will constantly expand. All kinds of influential forces are taking part in this campaign." Reston refrains from providing a list of names of the "influential forces." Unquestionably the military-industrial complex would take first place on such a list. However, the CIA also exerts substantial pressure on the government striving for a further expansion of the war in Vietnam.

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The chain of American failures and flops in Vietnam serves as but one example of the numerous breakdowns in the operations of the "intelligence community." Taking these circumstances into consideration and striving for greater effectiveness of the aggressive force in foreign policy, influential circles in America have during the first half of 1966 conducted under the slogan of "coordination" a reorganization of the system for controlling US foreign policy. According to a decision adopted early in March, 1966, by the President, the Secretary of State must

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now "bear full responsibility within the limits permitted by law for the general operations, coordination and supervision over interdepartmental activities of the US government abroad." The highest interdepartmental group under the Secretary of State was created for this purpose. As a result of the reorganization simultaneously with the growth of the role of the Department of State within the "intelligence community" the influence of intelligence and military agencies on the development and conduct of foreign policy strategy also increase. In reality the CIA, along with the Pentagon, is a member of the highest interdepartmental group as well as of each of the five regional groups encompassing all areas of the world. In this manner the CIA and the Pentagon participate now on a legal foundation with the Department of State in the formulation of all important questions of foreign policy. General Taylor, who was Chairman of the committee which prepared the above mentioned White House decision, bragged openly in a speech: "One of my tasks as the military representative lay in achieving a position whereby the voice of the military would be heard on time during the discussion of questions and so that this would be effective."

The necessity of expanding the coordination of the activities of American foreign policy agencies is also dictated by the vast scale of US interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Striving stubbornly to play the role of a world gendarme, the United States has mobilized its entire government machinery for this purpose. American forces are located in more than 30 countries. As President Johnson stated in 1964, the United States has 344 groups in 49 countries which, in his words, "train local military forces in the latest methods

of internal defense," that is, the crushing of uprisings by the popular masses. Following the creation in 1962 of the governmental "counter-insurgency group" (now its functions have been transferred to the highest interdepartmental group), it was decided to organize appropriate training for employees of American government establishments. As early as in June, 1963, 57,000 employees took special courses for controlling uprisings. The CIA and FBI played the primary role in setting up their work.

Coordination also includes the training of cadres. A fusion of instructions of employees in foreign policy agencies in diplomacy, intelligence and military science takes place. Diplomats, for example, study in military educational institutions. In turn certain military personnel are trained at the foreign service institute of the Department of State. At the present time the government is considering the question of the creation of a "national academy of foreign policy" where personnel are trained for the Department of State, the CIA, the Pentagon, USIA and other departments. In addition, government agencies began the development of this project soon after extreme right wing representatives of the monopoly circles demanded the creation of a "cold war academy."

Official US propaganda schedules coordinating measures deliberately. The American public is to be impressed with the fact that the measures undertaken reduce the chance of miscalculations and of ill considered decisions and consequently a risk of war as well. It is advantageous for official Washington to place the blame for the adventurist failures of the imperialist policy of force on insufficient

coordination of the work of government agencies. Five years after the failure of the US intervention in Cuba The New York Times writes that it must "take its place in history as a classic example of a catastrophe that can occur when a large scale international operation is undertaken with the greatest of secrecy, being politically approved on the basis of 'facts' presented by those who defend it most diligently; is conducted by those same supporters of it; and in the end acquires its own motive force going far beyond the boundaries outlined by the advocates of this operation or by those who ostensibly control it."

However, it is no secret that all of the aggressive acts undertaken in recent years have been painstakingly coordinated by the US government machinery, in particular through special agencies created for this a long time ago: the National Security Council, the "54/12 Group," the United States Intelligence Board, etc. The American government, for example, was forced to admit that the responsibility for the failure of the outrageous adventurist landing in the Bay of Pigs could be blamed not only on the CIA. Nixon, in recalling his work as Vice President at that time, boasted that he was the author of the idea of the intervention in Cuba. The landing site was recommended by the Pentagon. The entire plan was approved by the President. Therefore, the real cause for the failure, of course, is the adventurist foreign policy course of the United States and not at all some kind of shortcomings in coordination and control.

In assessing the reorganization of the operations of US foreign policy agencies, it must be noted that it leads to a more extensive utilization of methods of subversive activities, espionage, ideological

diversion, misinformation and so forth in the implementation of the foreign policy of American imperialism. In this connection one must examine as well the appointment of Helms as CIA director. Helms headed secret CIA operations in recent years. He is recognized as the chief specialist in this area. One American magazine several years ago called him the "director of espionage and dirty tricks." The appointment of Helms is also calculated to weaken the demand for the creation of a congressional committee on CIA activities. A tendency has already been recognized in official propaganda to present the matter in the following manner: insofar as this spy center is being headed by a professional anyway and not by a politician the CIA will no longer aspire to an active political role.

Measures for coordinating foreign policy activities and certain control over the intelligence agencies on the part of the Department of State cannot eliminate or reduce the adventurism in US foreign policy. History and current events show that adventurism in the foreign policy of imperialist states has its roots in the class interests of the bourgeois monopolies and in their attempts to retard the historical course of events, to retain their privileges and to achieve the establishment of world supremacy. US policy is adventurist not because it is insufficiently developed or poorly coordinated but because it is set by American imperialism which is distinguished by extreme aggressiveness and reactionary character.

The process of fusing the forces of monopoly with the forces of government into a single mechanism leads to a growth of centralization

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of state machinery and the coordination of its activities. Moreover, a constant expansion in the role of the military, intelligence and police agencies is taking place. This is evidence of the fact that the United States is being transformed into a militarist and military-police state.